

THE MEDIA

Union's editorial page and director Krulak (1967): Flag-waving in defense of Defense

Herb Klein's Old Paper

San Diego is a Navy town, and a fiercely conservative one. Not surprisingly, its sole morning newspaper, the Union, puts flag ceremonies on page one and all but kept Robert Kennedy's picture off it until his death. The Union is the bright light of the 26-paper Copley chain, whose top echelon consists mostly of ex-Navy brass with muscular nicknames, from owner James S. (Super-Jim) Copley down. For the last year, the Union has had a special significance: even though the paper itself finds Richard Nixon a bit tame in the White House, Herb Klein, the Administration's director of communications, and three other Nixon aides happen to have won their editorial wings there.

With its armed guards and double steel gates, the Union building itself has a military bearing. On the fourth floor is Copley's director of editorial and news policy, former Lt. Gen. Victor Krulak, who quit the Marines in 1968 after heading the corps in Vietnam and then being passed over for commandant. His present post is his first newspaper job. Krulak likes Union staffers to call him Brute, the tag he won for being the shortest (officially—and generously—about 5 feet 3) yet peppier cadet at Annapolis. A Union newsman says privately, "Krulak was too hawkish for the Marine Corps but he was just right for Copley."

Union executives call their paper "positive," and Krulak says it is "for a solid military economy" and "oriented to the rightness of our basic institutions." The Union is heavy on Rotary meetings, local history, homecoming Navy ships, Pearl Harbor Day, and the La Jolla-based Military Order of the World Wars (known to some disgusted staffers as "MOW-WOW"). Photos of the annual massing-of-flags ceremony at Balboa Park are obligatory, but there are equally strict rules

of omission. The Union paints pants on nude comic-strip figures, refuses ads for X-rated movies, and edits sex out of "Dear Abby". It ignores the "underground" Roman Catholic Masses that young people have been conducting near the Union offices, though the Bishop of San Diego has approved them.

There are more serious omissions. San Diego is 5 per cent black and 25 per cent Mexican-American, but a black subscriber complains, "You feel from reading the Union that San Diego is just a nice, quiet white community." The paper shuns Black Panther activity at home but devotes lengthy coverage to Panther violence in Chicago and Los Angeles. A former Union reporter says: "Any intelligent person who wants to know what's going on, even in San Diego, has to take The Los Angeles Times."

According to Union editorials, there are few justified defense-budget cuts and welfare is a potential social pollutant. The paper backed Fred C. Schwarz's shrill anti-Red crusade; its columnists run a minuscule range of opinion from Ralph



Klein: More self-examination

de Toledano to Max Rafferty; and even its letters to the editor are conservative. "The Union," a staffer sums up, "has the kind of attitude the United States Navy had in 1895."

The same martial spirit is abundantly evident when company executives meet each year at El Casa del Zorro (The House of the Fox), Copley's palatial, flag-festooned home in Borrego Springs, Calif. Super-Jim greets them wearing a sweatshirt emblazoned with a huge C, and they sometimes confer while exercising in his gymnasium. From this gung-ho conclave emerge policies for his string of papers in Illinois and California, with a combined circulation of 700,000, all but one of them enjoying a local monopoly on printed news.

This mini-empire was started in Illinois by Super-Jim's father, tough spit-and-polish Col. Ira C. Copley, who acquired his first newspaper, The Aurora Beacon, in 1905. By 1928, the colonel had organized five papers into one company; then he moved out West to expand his business and wage the good fight against what he considered the socialistic Hoover Dam. He lost on the dam but kept on acquiring papers. When he died in 1947, at the age of 83, Jim took over the holdings and the expansionist spirit. He developed the international Copley News Service, with 340 clients (29 by wire), bought the 115-year-old Sacramento Union, and began dabbling in radio and television stations, movies, management consulting, computers and oceanography.

Cues: The Copley Press, Inc. now includes fourteen dailies and eight weeklies, ranging from the little (3,000 bi-monthly) Borrego Sun to the Union (150,000 daily, 260,000 Sunday). Though the over-all operation seems successful, the Union has suffered growth problems common to many newspapers these days. The San Diego area has had a population increase of 278,900 in the past five years, but the Union's circulation has risen only nine per cent, some 30,000. (Television and a local sale of 16,000 by The Los Angeles Times are held to blame.) Copley officials say their papers are all editorially independent, but apart from the maverick Democratic stance of the State Register in Springfield, Ill., and occasional vagaries elsewhere, all seem to take their cues from the Union.

At 53, Jim Copley exerts little direct control over his papers (putting his signature to the Union's front-page editorial backing Goldwater in 1964 was an exception). In fact, when he once made one of his infrequent tours of the Union office, he examined an AP Wire Photo machine and asked in all innocence, "Is this mine?" Nevertheless, he pours money, talent and the company's best resources into the Union, which is known as the company's "flagship." The paper has an excellent training program for writers and reporters, modern typography and layout, a pioneer reputation in newspaper cybernetics and 140 reporters who

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excel in military and space coverage. Yet, few journalistic prizes hang on its walls—excepting Copley's in-house "Ring of Truth" awards.

Staff turnover at the Union is unusually high. An ex-staffer recalls: "Reporters were ashamed to admit they were from the Union. At parties they'd just say 'I'm a writer,' because even Republicans were down on it for its prejudices." Often reporters are appalled to see their accounts of left-wing and radical meetings go not into the news columns but into a file said to be maintained by a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Union was Herb Klein's employer from the time he joined as a young Navy veteran in 1950 till he resigned in 1968 after almost a decade as editor. Gerald Warren, chief assistant to Presidential press secretary Ronald Ziegler, was once the Union's assistant managing editor. Lyn Nofziger, once Ronald Reagan's press aide and now working as a White House legislative aide, is another Union alumnus. So is Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Capen.

Filter: Those who remember Klein as editor describe him as the most talented and genial man who ever held the job. "Four-fifths of us there were liberal Democrats," one of Klein's contemporaries recalls, "but we had to admire Herb's conservative editorials. His greatest talent, though, was as a peacemaker. When there was conflict at editorial meetings, he always made a remark that reduced the tension. He acted as a filter between conservative managers and liberal employees, making them bearable to each other." What did Klein himself believe? "I was, if anything, overexposed to him for years, both at work and socially, yet I was never sure. I never saw him unpleasant and I never saw him in a fit of conviction. I just couldn't say where he was at."

Sitting in his spacious, gold-carpeted office next door to the White House, Klein last week defended the Union as "basically fair." He cited his 1966 election to the board of the American Society of Newspaper Editors as proof of his objectivity as a newsman. Such objectivity, Klein finds, is still sadly missing in most of the U.S. press. "Perhaps," he says with a modest smile, "we ought to spend more time in self-examination."